Gorontalo OG4
Ambon OH4
Batak OD5
Makassar OG6
Ngadja OC9
Sundanese OE7

[182 cont.]

d. General Remarks about the Batak, Lampong, Redjang, Makassarese, and Buginese Literature

I 538 Finally, we shall give some general remarks about the literature of the other peoples of the archipelago. First, however, we shall briefly discuss the present state of our knowledge of their languages and the way we learned about them. We need not waste many words in pointing out that especially during recent years great progress has been made. One only has to look S N M B I at the literature on the Indies of 30 years ago to learn that practically nothing was known on the subject. For that matter, as we learned above, not much more was known of Javanese.

114 19 We owe thanks for this knowledge, first, to the efforts of the Netherlands Bible Society of Amsterdam and to the various missionary societies active in the Indies. The first-mentioned society in particular has sent many a scholar to the Indies to study the as yet inaccessible languages. For example, Dr. van der Tuuk worked on the Batak language and has published a grammar, four volumes of chrestomathy, and a dictionary of it. Dr. B. F. Matthes has performed a similar service for the languages of southern Celebes and has prepared Makassarese and Buginese dictionaries, grammars, and anthologies. Likewise, Dr. Hardeland studied Dajak [Dyak], especially the language of the Olo Ngadju, which gave us a Grammatik and Wörterbuch [dictionary]. The study of Sundanese [183] was undertaken by the Bible Society, but the results were less satisfactory because their representative, Dr. Engelmann, died before his task was completed.

G 114 19 No less commendable in this respect were the efforts of the Netherlands Missionary Society of Rotterdam. Their missionaries on northern Celebes among the Minahasa made the languages of the Alfoer accessible. (Among these missionaries, the name of N. Ph. Wilken, the father of the late Professor Wilken, must not go unmentioned.) No less valuable were their A 114 19 services with regard to the languages of the Ambon Islands, particularly the study of the various dialects, the so-called bĕhasa

A [183 cont.]
1144 19 tanah. We owe our knowledge of Noefoerese [Nuforese], the
N Papuan of Doreh Bay, and of Belonese [Belu] (Timor) to the
T missionaries of the Utrecht Missionary Society, and the honor
S 1144 of making Sundanese better known belongs to the missionaries
19 of the Netherlands Missionary Society.

Meanwhile, the Government has not been inactive. Various persons have been appointed to study one or another language. For example, after the death of Dr. Engelmann, it took over the Bible Society's task of studying Sundanese and Dr. Koorders was appointed to do it. He, too, however, could not see his work completed. After his death, Mr. Oosting was appointed, and the fruit of his work has been published, a Sundanese dictionary and grammar.

B After the missionaries of the Utrecht Missionary Society
1144 19 had started the study of Balinese, the Government acquired the services of Dr. van der Tuuk, who is now continuing these studies. It would carry us too far afield, however, to mention the names of all those who have rendered service by such studies.

Finally, the officials in the Civil Service are nowadays greatly concerned with language studies and have made many important contributions.

MP We need not dwell on what has been and still is being
1144 19 done in our country for the Malayo-Polynesian languages in general, [184] but we shall say a few words about this science which through the broadening of our knowledge in recent times has made great progress. We have comparative Malayo-Polynesian linguistics in mind. To avoid mentioning too many names, it is Professor Kern in particular who has made this study a science. Passing over a number of minor publications, we shall only mention his works, Over de verhouding van het Mafoorsch of Noefoorsch tot de Maleisch Polynesische talen [On the relations between the Mafoor or Nuforese language and the Malayo-Polynesian languages] (1884), and particularly his work of 1886, De Fidji taal vergeleken met hare verwanten in Indonesië [The Fiji language compared with related languages in Indonesia]. The

A T
583 up. There is a lot of elopement here. It is called lari bini. Sometimes this occurs in order
A to avoid the cost of a feast, but often it is to
[578] avoid the bride's parents' opposition. The latter often get very angry and may even lead the parties concerned into knife fights.

A I understand that there are many cases here
691 over disputed land boundaries, especially be-
423 tween negri, but also over smaller area boundaries. Rehatta says that there are piles of them in the office. He also said that an Ambonese will seldom fight to kill, but that over land disputes concerned with boundaries he may do so. (Thus the land business begins to emerge.)

C In my notes on Ceram I see that the chiefs
A there get pieces of cloth at weddings. This is
585 precisely what happens on Ambon. Where do they
197 get this notion about no more old culture in Ambon? The fact is that it is Ceram culture, and probably Patasiwa. Certainly the language is the same. And when I look from Tulehu across
A the bay to Ceram nearby I see that Ambon Island
[131] and the others are mere off-shore islands of Ceram.

A Soa membership is entirely patrilineal, although
611 it is said that they have ambil anak too, and if
614 there are no girls they may adopt a boy into the
597 soa, like the Batak.

A Time after time the Radja pointed out how adat
182 wins out over agama here. This is especially
764 true in regard to the funerals. When I get these
178 men loosened up, it is remarkable how they talk about the old ways living on. They know everything in my notes. Even Riedel[1] seems to be not bad here!
[114]

A I have heard several times how Ambonese put a
273 deer embryo into the koolwater (one Dutchman says
825 that kool means alcohol) to make it strong. It

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

614 621 178 [114] The two main soa(the original ones?) are Tunisoa and Soaperak.

Vroklage was probably wrong in stating that there were always five or nine soa in a negri.[1]

N

622 562 178 Rehatta says that Naku has a female radja. This is something new here, having occurred only during the last twenty-five years (in Hitu since about ten years ago only). Gaspersz resigned as he was too old to travel from Ambon to Naku frequently.

A

773 114 Amahusu: The assistant said that men are supposed to have come from trees according to some of the old tales (can this be totemism, as Wouden implies?). The assistant laughed and said that in reading these old stories that he comes to wonder if his ancestors weren't a bit mad.

T

114 Tulehu: The Radja talked almost all of the time. I started with the material from Vroklage,[1] which he got from Holleman and Jansen.[1]

621 801 632 631 622 I asked about the uli, which he said were regular bonds of five or nine hena or negri. I was surprised when he said this was right, but he knows of no cases of nine. There are plenty of cases of five, however. He says this is the regular thing in Ambon. The uli to which Tulehu belongs, and this is typical, has a head negri, where the radja lives. Then there are two negri with patih and two with orang kaya. Thus for the uli Solemata:

Tulehu (radja)
Waai (patih) Suli (patih)
Tengah-Tengah (orang kaya)
Tial (orang kaya)

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

T

621 Waai and Suli are Christian, the others are
801 Mohammedan. However, this makes no difference.
632 The Radja says he can't remember any other uli
631 in Hitu, but that they have them, perhaps as
[114] many as two more. I asked about Jansen's[1] idea
that the pattern means a human body, with the
radja as the head-trunk, the orang kaya the
arms, and the patih the legs. He took to this
idea amazingly. He had evidently heard of it.
He didn't play it very hard but did accept it.
However, he could not see the nine.

622 I then asked about the three radjas of Leiti-
621 mor, which I now see are uli too.[1] Sure enough,
632 Nusanive has a radja and the other four are
631 Latuhalat, Silale, Amahusu, and Seri. But here
177 the four have respectively three orang kaya and
801 one kepala soa at the head. He said that this
565 must have been caused by later change, probably
because of the Dutch elevation of lesser chiefs
to places where there should be two orang kaya
and two patih.

Regarding Kilang, there is the radja and the four (Naku, Hatalai, Hukurila, and Ema). The four, however, have a patih and three orang kaya. Here again he said that the original pattern must have been warped by the Dutch. As for Soya, there is a radja, and only three (Halong, Hutumuri, and Rutung). And these have respectively, patih and two orang kaya. He says this is a case of warping too. I asked why there were not four, and he said they did have four and the fourth was Batumerah, which has an orang kaya.

778 Then I asked if it is true that "nine"[3] had
632 their stone[4] on the land side and "five" on the
801 sea side of the baileo. He said that this is all
681 right for the "five," maybe. But he would rather
say "the west side," and the stone here (was) is
on the west side of the baileo. If so, I assume
that "nine" would have the stone on the east

[1] [See cat. 113 --Analyst]; [2] [See also cat. 116, p. 89--Analyst]
[3] [bonds of negri (Ulisiwa)--Analyst]; [4] [i.e., batu pemali --Analyst]

T

778 side. I may be able to ask about this elsewhere.
632 I asked if it was true that fines of the "nine"
801 were in units of nine and of the "five" were in
681 units of five. He seemed to take hold of the "five" all right and said that this was all right formerly although it was now disregarded. He doubted the "nine" business.

802 He said that they always count by fives, for example in laying gaba-gaba strips or counting cocoanuts, etc. I think there may be something here and he remembers enough to make me think it could have been so.

● [114] I got nowhere with Jansen's fancy idea about
621 the double-sex aspects of social organization.
565 This all led to an outburst. He said that the
177 Dutch ruined the system. They broke up the uli
668 pattern by lowering the radja and elevating the
622 orang kaya and patih. Thus all was equalized
632 and the uli were no longer significant. Thus
631 Ambon has many chiefs on a dead level instead of a strong organization with a radja ruling larger districts and orang kaya and patih as assistants in kampongs. Thus there is no district organization here as in Celebes. He said that when they got freedom they would recreate the uli. He of course wants this as he would then get much more power. He envies the radjas in Celebes and he said it made his blood boil to think of how the Dutch broke up the uli so as to make Ambon weak.

476 This all led to the question of what the
608 duties of the uli were. He said that when work
624 was needed, for example, for a new school or
632 church or mosque, the five units belonging to the uli all helped each other.

Then we went on to the pela and he said that this was the same thing although here everything is done in pairs. Thus I find two types of federation for mutual aid: uli and pela. The

T

582 614 565 asked if the men of Lating married by preference the women of Wakang. He said that this is much less preferred, and then I sprang the real question. Could it be that originally there was a three-class rotating asymmetrical marriage class system here? I explained this and he said he really thought this was quite possible. Now, however, he said they run in pairs. But note that the preference is expressed as that of the men of Wakang for the women of Lating. I must ask later about cross-cousin marriages.

I asked about Gani and found out that he is of the soa Moni. He should have married a woman of Tuni, but he married a Lating. This is not so good. The Radja says that he is a "modern."

The Radja says that each soa must have a ● [114] preferential marriage soa. Again Holleman and Jansen and Vroklage, as well as Wouden, check.

565 173 I asked about the many radjas who traced their ascent to Javan influence and he said that this was so. He did not fall into this category, however. His ancestors came from Kei. Then they went to Eruwakang and down to Tulehu. But those who claim Javan backgrounds keep no family trees. This led to mention of the heaven-descent business in Celebes. I heard that in Makassar some people are saying that the Tumanurung myths of the radjas there are a tissue of lies and must be broken. Thus we see the rebellion of the commoners involving the destruction of the supporting myth (charter) first!

266 773 I asked about human sacrifice and the eating of human flesh. He says that there are plenty of stories about this and thinks it did occur once. He stresses that they are only stories, however. He is not sore about this matter and agrees that it is legendary.

A

000 Amahusu: This afternoon I started to compare

614 fam is always the name of the fam's dati too.
621 But I think that in Amahusu there are many dati
551 in a fam, and thus they have different names.
423 I now think that in Naku the names of the dati and also the names of the fam, for example Gaspersz, are the same. If all this is correct, we have in the negri several fam or sections of clans (for any clan may have sections in many negri, and this is why Ambon fam names recur all over the islands and even into Ceram). Thus a local fam is a section of a widespread clan living in a negri. It is thus a kind of lineage.
[582] A person may not marry another individual with the same fam name even though he or she comes from a different negri. I wonder how many fam or clans there are in all the Ambon islands. Wilkin
● [114] around 1865 said that there were twelve hundred-odd dati in Ambon, and maybe, therefore, since the dati seem to have the same names as the fam, this is also the number of fam. Still, in the Amahusu situation, there must be more dati names than fam names. I will have to check this.
[621] The land of the negri is divided into dati,
423 except for the negri land. Rehatta gave me the
614 rule to the effect that each fam has one dati.

The Soya pattern is:

Soa	Fam or Rumah tau (also the dati name)
Tuniso	Rehatta
	Tamtelahitu
Erang	Soplanit
	Pessulima
	Hawa'a
	Patti I (no dati)
	Hetiahubessi (no dati)
	Manuputi (no dati)
	Rehatta (some)
Perak	Salampessi (no dati)

621 614 582 Rehatta says also that the non-negri places in Ambon (many are located on the map) are mainly kampongs inhabited by former burgers. They are called kampongs. There is one, Siki, not on the map but located near Soya, which is inhabited entirely by the fam Alfons. These are not burgers (evidently here there is a survival of the old localized clan), but they have no chief and no government. They just live there. They have good houses and are content. And until recently all of the Rehattas (the radja fam of Soya) had to take their wives from the Alfons fam. The reverse, however, did not obtain. I am coming more and more to suspect that there may be a rotating marriage class system here, if not now at least before. However, ter Haar[1] says that there is pair exchange. Maybe this is so, and if it is, cases such as the radja's fam may be special. I remember the same thing in regard to the Radja of Tulehu who said that it is absolutely proper for Wakang men to marry Lating women but not necessarily so for the reverse.

080 Nusalaut: The guru (and two others also) who visited is from Nusalaut. I quizzed him about Nusalaut. The Radja's wife is also from there (from Amet).

●[114] There are seven negri on Nusalaut. The guru knows the story in van Hoevell,[1] and says that it checks one hundred per cent. There are three or more soa per negri. A bride price is paid. There are five to ten fam per negri and each negri has a negri lama in the mountains. The island of Nusalaut is only about twenty-five kilometers in circumference. One can walk around it in one day. There are no roads, and no cars. There is no large boat service, but a motorboat from Tulehu and Saparua does visit the island. There are no malessi or mauwen in Nusalaut negri, but they do have all of the other offices.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

286 made such cloth on a simple loom. He said there
178 was no comb used.

303 There is still a little perfume made locally, although much more was made in former times.

576 Rehatta had never heard of women rubbing their noses.

178 Rehatta says that most of the taboos on pregnant women and those concerning pregnancy found in Riedel are still practiced. For example, a pregnant woman always carries a knife if she goes out. The umbilical cord is still tied with thread made of pineapple fiber, and the cord itself is still cut with a bamboo knife. They still bury the placenta in a cocoanut shell or in a pot. Flowers are planted over the spot. Damar brands are no longer burned for seven nights as was done before. In some places, for example, a few families in Soya, the placenta is thrown into the sea. As Riedel says, the bearers go straight to the sea, speaking to nobody and looking straight ahead. Rehatta saw such a group coming down from Soya recently and knew at once what was up.

561 Ambon: Rehatta says that every negri has not
887 only youth groups under kepala ngungare and
476 kepala djodjaro, but also old men's and old
171 women's age-grades, called upu-upu matahina and
368 upu-upu ama. They each have a kepala too. If
575 work needsto be done one can ask the kepala of any one of these and the work will be done free. They even bring their own food. Unlike the situation in Elpaputi, these age-grades in Ambon have no club houses.

773 The girl mentioned above, who appears from time to time, was the only daughter of Latu Silimau, the first Radja of Soya. For many generations, in fact until the present radja's generation, there was only one daughter per family in the Rehatta fam.

[See also cat. 116, p. 132--Analyst]

T

304 is done for greater beauty. They were surprised
178 when I said it was surely an old custom on the way out!

They remember that there was tattooing here long ago.

411 The shields here were very narrow, and the
[535] tjakalele ones are narrow now. They are only about eight centimeters wide. Thus they are really parrying shields, and a sign that no bows were used here perhaps.

292 The fellow from Saparua cannot remember any-
178 one making uti-uti sarongs there, but he says
439 they use them on adat occasions sometimes. These they buy from Timor. Thus they have forgotten that they too once had them. However, the "adat" remark is a giveaway.

417 Sasi signs are made on leaves, cocoanut,
421 pineapple, etc. They are strung on a frame.[1]

624 The position of kepala dati is hereditary.
423 He must be the oldest son of the former kepala
614 dati. In Paperu the tuan tanah, who is old,
[197] still speaks the bahasa tanah, but his son and successor does not learn it.

567 The name for slaves in bahasa tanah here is ata.

624 The Saparua man says that the term bangsa
565 hatsil was used in Saparua for regents who got
● 114 a bit more pay than the regular radjas. They were not of lower rank. He says they still choose the kepala kewang from a certain bangsa, that is, from a certain lineage. This is not so in Tulehu. It shows that the author of the ENI[2] article must have been writing about Saparua. But as usual, the fool doesn't say that his remarks are for Saparua. Perhaps, of course, this was true of Ambon too at one time.

565 In the negri of Saparua there are still bur-
624 gers. They are under the wijkmeester who is
175
425 [1] [See D.D. Tauern, Patasiwa und Patalima, Leipzig,
726 1918, pp. 100-01--Analyst]; [2] [See bibliography, op. cit. 113--Analyst]

N
000 rite, and it is also done in other negri.

845 It is believed that if a woman dies in child-
766 birth she becomes a puntiana only if the child
775 has not yet emerged. It makes no difference if
114 the child or mother or both are dead. If the
child has emerged, there is no puntiana. But
if the child dies inside the mother, then she
(the woman) is considered a puntiana, and they
do as Riedel says (tie thorns and hair to her
nails, etc.).^

782 There are offerings to the earth mother placed
244 in the gardens by some people here. This is done
especially if there is a new garden. The Buton-
ese always do this.

769 The ancestors of the old may return, and many
773 see them. This is a very common story in Ambon.
775 The Rani says that when Gaspersz son Willem was
having a child in Java a mysterious woman ap-
peared to the grandmother in Ambon and asked her
what she planned to give the child. She then
disappeared. This may be the mystery girl of
Soya. The place is full of such wonder tales.

789 There are lots of matakau beliefs here. One
685 sharp lad who was not very agreeable to me, but
753 who is a noted fisherman (fl. 1500.00 in twenty
days), is known to make powerful matakau. He
doesn't do it, as the results are terrible if
anyone breaks a taboo. Then Gaspersz's son said
that Baier, the former HPB at Piru, Ceram, was
out in the woods once and took a piece of a
stewing snake from an Alfur. The latter was
there and said that he wanted to test it only.
Within a week his jaws were akimbo, his eyes were
crossed, and he could not speak clearly. He was
so bad that he had to be moved to Makassar, as
the doctors did not know what to do for him.
That is why Willem Gaspersz replaced Baier re-
cently at Piru. The latter is slowly getting

^[See p.81 of Riedel as cited in bibliography, cat 113--Analyst]